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WHOLE No. 773

EXPERIENTIA DOCET

Some time ago I was asked, by a correspondent, to state whether the familiar saying *Experientia docet* goes back to any classical author.

A short search produced some interesting results. Naturally I turned first to a well known book, A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1893).

Otto does not list *experientia* at all! In Otto, under *Expertus* (page 127), one finds first a paragraph devoted to *Experto crede* (Aeneid 11.283), *Experto credite*, Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 3.511, and similar expressions, then a paragraph devoted to more or less kindred things, such as *Experti scire debemus*, Cicero, *Pro Milone* 69, *docta didici*, Plautus, *Mercator* 522, and, thirdly, a paragraph of examples like *Expertus metuit*, Horace, *Epistulae* 1.18.87. In the work entitled *The Home Book of Quotations, Classical and Modern, Selected and Arranged* by Burton Stevenson (Dodd, Mead, 1934), on pages 592-596, one will find a number of expressions involving the word *experience*. Several of them give, in effect, from ancient Roman authors, the thought of *Experientia docet*.

On page 594, Column 2, near the bottom, I find this: "Experience teaches. (*Experientia docet*.) Tacitus, *History*. Bk. v, ch. 6".

This is a very inaccurate quotation.

In the opening chapters of *Historiae* 5 Tacitus is writing about the year 70 A. D. His theme is the fall of Jerusalem in that year. In Chapters 2-8 he gives a general account of the Jews, their land, and their chief city. In Chapter 6 he writes as follows (I give The Loeb Classical Library version):

...Of the mountains, Lebanon rises to the greatest height, and is in fact a marvel, for in the midst of the excessive heat its summit is shaded by trees and covered with snow; it likewise is the source and supply of the river Jordan. This river does not empty into the sea, but after flowing with volume undiminished through two lakes is lost in the third. The last is a lake of great size: it is like the sea, but the water has a nauseous taste, and its offensive odour is injurious to those who live near it. Its waters are not moved by the wind, and neither fish nor water-fowl can live there. Its lifeless waves bear up whatever is thrown upon them as on a solid surface; all swimmers, whether skilled or not, are buoyed up by them. At a certain season of the year the seas throw up bitumen, and experience has taught the natives how to collect this, as she teaches all arts

The Latin words with which the original of this passage concludes are these:

...Certo anni bitumen egerit, cuius legendi usum, ut ceteras artis, experientia docuit.

This gives, in effect, though not in *ipsissima verba*, *Experientia docet*.

CHARLES KNAPP

VERGIL, AENEID 6.724-751, 637-675

Vergil, Aeneid 6.724-751 is a passage whose difficulty has long been recognized. Various efforts have been made to explain it, none of which is quite convincing¹. Very possibly this is one of the passages which, had Vergil lived to make a final revision, would have been straightened out. But, in any case, the difficulty concerns only the details; the general meaning is clear. A far more serious problem is presented by the discrepancy between this passage and an earlier passage in the same book, 637-675. This discrepancy is not confined to details. It is fundamental; it is based on a radical difference of underlying presuppositions.

In 724-751 the underlying presupposition is the theory which is conveniently described by the familiar Greek catchword expression, *σῶμα σῆμα*, 'the body a tomb'. According to this theory, the human body, which, of course, is by its very nature mortal, is tenanted by a soul, which is by its very nature immortal; the *τέλος*, the destiny, the completed development, of the soul is found in its final liberation from the clogging influence of the body. This theory is not necessarily either moral or immoral², nor does it necessarily involve any theory of successive rebirths. Vergil gave to it a deep moral significance; and the theory of successive rebirths was a part of the means which he used for this purpose. The Gnostic Christian heretics of the second century (with whom the *σῶμα σῆμα* theory was axiomatic) also gave to it a deep moral significance; but the means which they used for that purpose was not the theory of successive rebirths, but the doctrine of the redemptive power of Christ³. In the writings of these

¹T. R. Glover, *Vergil*, 267-272 (London, Methuen), in an interesting discussion of this passage, mentions four suggested explanations. At least one other explanation might be mentioned.

²The late Professor F. C. Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis*, 33-34 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932), stated the matter admirably as follows: "I think, in the first place, that the *soma-sēma* doctrine may be described as the reverse or back-view of 'the immortality of the Soul'. The immortality of the human soul is not a doctrine taught in the Bible, either in the Old or the New Testament. God alone 'hath immortality'. He may confer it on others, but it is no necessary and natural postulate of human existence. A vivid belief in God's justice, a belief that the God of all the earth will in the end do right, led most Jews to believe, from the time of the Maccabean rising onwards, that martyred saints would not be unrewarded and that notorious sinners and persecutors, such as Antiochus Epiphanes, would receive in their own persons the due punishment for their evil deeds. So arose the belief in the Resurrection of the Dead. It is a moral doctrine, not a physical theory. The Greek notion of the immortality of the soul, on the other hand, is not in itself moral but logical and psychological".

³They were Christians, though (from the viewpoint of the great body of the Church) heretical Christians.

Gnostics we find the same underlying presupposition as in this passage of Vergil, that the body is a tomb or a prison from which the soul must liberate itself or be liberated⁴.

In Aeneid 6.637-675 the underlying presupposition is radically different. There is the same moral earnestness. That is shown by the character of those who are admitted to Elysium—men who have suffered for their country, holy priests, faithful prophets, benefactors of their race, men who have earned grateful remembrance by deeds of pure benevolence. But Elysium itself, and the life which is lived there are differently conceived. It is a good life, of course, happy and wholesome, free from pain and free from sin, but it is a life which cannot possibly be reconciled with the *σωμα σῆμα* theory. Singing and harp-playing, friendly wrestling matches, horse-raising, picnics, singing triumph songs amid the scented groves, free and peaceful enjoyment of soft turf and shady woods and freshened meadows are not the occupations of disembodied spirits. All that was good and wholesome in the life of these heroes on earth is retained in Elysium. Even weapons are there, but they are *procul* (651), because they are no longer needed; chariots are there, but they are no longer used for war; horses are there, but they have peaceful uses (compare Aeneid 3.541-542). The life here described is not the negation, but the sublimation, of life on earth, a life without sin or sickness, pain or death, *patria luminis, inscia turbinis, inscia litis*, as S. Bernard of Cluny described it. The blessed in Elysium are, to use the striking phrase of Paul of Tarsus, 'not unclothed but clothed upon'. The body is not a tomb or a prison from which we should long to escape in order that we may fade away into *aurai simplicis ignis* (747); it is rather an imperfect instrument which will be made perfect. A fifteenth-century Latin hymn of unknown authorship has admirably expressed the idea:

O quam vere gloriosum
Eris, corpus fragile,
Cum fueris tam formosum,
Forte, sanum, agile,
Liberum, voluptuosum,
In aevum durabile.

It has seemed to me to be worth while to call attention to the fundamental discrepancy between two passages which come so close together in the same book of the same poem. If we were to find a similar discrepancy in a New Testament writing, for instance, would not the critics at once jump to the conclusion that there had been interpolation? Yet we know that Vergil wrote both these passages, and that he shows no consciousness of inconsistency.

It is interesting also to notice that, while the later Vergilian passage is in line with cultured Greek thought, the earlier passage is fundamentally in line with Jewish

and primitive Christian ideas. We need not therefore be surprised if we find in the great Christian hymns various expressions which remind us of 637-675. The pastures of the blessed (*Est ibi pascua mitibus afflua praestita sanctis*), in the well known hymn Jerusalem the golden⁵, is an expression which fails to startle us only because it is so familiar. But it, and an expression which occurs in the succeeding verse (*agminis et sonus est epulantis*), are reminiscent of Vergil's

Conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaue per herbam
vescentis, laetumque choro paecana canentis
inter odoratum nemus.

Earlier in the hymn S. Bernard has twice mentioned the laurel. Also, *concio candida vestibis albis* reminds us of Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta. The spacious, mellow-hued air that clothes the fields of Elysium (640-641) is recalled by S. Bernard's *luce serena*. I venture to suggest that a part, at least, of the connotation of *purpureo* is the absence of glare; the light is rich and mellow, not harsh and garish. Again, Vergil's *solemque suum, sua sidera norunt* is reproduced in a nobler form in the fifteenth-century hymn mentioned above:

In te nunquam nubilata
Aeris temperies;
Sole solis illustrata
Semper est merides⁷.

The language, both in the Vergilian passage and in the hymn quoted, is figurative; what other kind of language is available? The true interpretation, as I see the matter, is to regard the colorful imagery as the natural way of expressing hope and faith that we shall not be reduced by progressive attenuation to *aurai simplicis ignis*; that *ἐνδοσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ ἐρπεθόμεθα*⁸; that some sort of *σωμα* will be provided, some means of reacting upon our environment; and that, although that *σωμα* may well be entirely different from anything that we now know⁹, it will be not less, but more perfectly, adapted to its purpose.

⁴Bernard, a monk of Cluny in the twelfth century, wrote a long poem on the contempt of the world. Various sections of this poem, translated into English ballad meter by Dr. J. M. Neale, have become popular hymns. Among them are Jerusalem the golden, Brief life is here our portion, For thee, O dear, dear country, and The world is very evil. The opening line of the last-named translation is unfortunate. According to S. Bernard, it is not the world but the age that is evil; S. Bernard was too orthodox a Christian to repudiate Genesis 1.31.

⁵Dr. Neale's translation well represents the feeling of the original:

There is no cloud nor passing vapor
Dims the brightness of the air;
Endless noonday, glorious noonday
From the Sun of suns is there.

This hymn is of interest to the climatologist. In Central Italy and Southern Italy, as in Palestine, there is an excess of sunshine. Rome has the amazing total of 2,394 hours of sunshine in the year. No one can read Aeneid 6.637-675 without being impressed by the longing for shade and moisture. The same feeling is shown repeatedly in the Bible; Isaiah 32.2 is an example. But in Western Europe, where many of the great Latin hymns were written, there is a deficiency of sunshine; the unrelieved brightness of a cloudless noon, which would be felt as a liability in the Mediterranean climatic region, would be felt as an asset in Western Europe. There is nothing surprising in the wording of the stanza quoted above; it is what we should expect in Western Europe; the really surprising thing is that this viewpoint does not show itself more frequently. The Mediterranean viewpoint seems to have been so deeply imbedded in the literature that it carried over into a different environment. The climatic ideal of Mediterranean man finds expression in the hymn of Petrus Damiani, *Ad perennis vitae fontem*: see the fifth and the following stanzas.

⁶2 Corinthians 5.3.

⁷1 Corinthians 13.35-45.

⁴Professor Burkitt (Church and Gnosis, 76; see note 2, above), in interpreting the Gnostic document known as the Pistis Sophia, says, "The Disciples are to teach the whole world to seek the mystery of the Light which will purify them and make them refined light, but to attain this they must renounce the whole world and the matter therein and all its cares and sins and associations".

In the expression "refined light" we have Vergil's *aurai simplicis ignem*. Contrast this with S. Paul's view, in Philippians 3.21, where *σωμα* appears in the second clause as well as in the first.

⁵2 Corinthians 5.3.

The two Vergilian passages represent mutually exclusive viewpoints.

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T. W. VALENTINE

<Mr. Valentine has a very interesting way of sending along with a paper which he offers for consideration in connection with THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY a letter in which he sums up, in most useful fashion, his paper, or offers additional matter to elucidate the paper (for an example of this see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 28.32, note 7, at the end).

I quote here part of the letter which Mr. Valentine sent with the present paper:

"The contrast is fundamental. I do not think that we can dismiss the matter by saying that the later passage is philosophic thought while the former is popular superstition. The language of the earlier passage is, of course, figurative, but it is not on that account meaningless; the imagery is, I think, a natural way of expressing the widely prevalent feeling which Paul of Tarsus expressed when he said that he hoped not to be unclothed but to be additionally clothed. The other passage is, of course, an expression of the *σῶμα σῆμα* theory. If the one passage is regarded by its opponents as 'materialistic', the other is regarded by its opponents as 'the deification of the word "not"'. At any rate the two passages represent mutually exclusive viewpoints.

Also, it is of interest to the student of the history of religious thought to note that the fundamental conflict between these two viewpoints entered into the great controversies of the second century; the one view was the underlying presupposition of the main body of Christians, while the other was the underlying presupposition of a number of able and earnest men on the circumference of Christianity. On the whole, the great Christian hymns reflect the former view. I say "On the whole", because one does not expect to find entire consistency in such matters; as Canon Streeter has pointed out, "the human mind is not naturally tidy".

Of all the clauses in the so-called Apostles' Creed, the one that has been the target of the most adverse criticism is *πιστεύω σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν*. I venture to suggest that this extraordinarily strong language, stronger than New Testament phraseology and softened down in the English translation, represents the instinctive revulsion of second, third, and fourth century Christians from the *σῶμα σῆμα* theory". C. K. >

PARALLELS

Some time ago in my reading I came upon an article in The Literary Digest¹ entitled Huston and Raskob, Grill Mates. The first sentence, which was set in quotation marks, was "You kick my dog, and I'll kick your cat. . . ." A few moments later I picked up a magazine of an entirely different nature², and by a very strange and surprising coincidence I found another expression for the same idea, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours!" In the latter case the humorous

touch was more involved, as the pun was supposed to have been part of the conversation of two football coaches. These two aphorisms immediately called to mind a number of parallels from antiquity.

In Plato³, Epicharmus is quoted as saying *ἡ δὲ χεὶρ τὰν χεῖρα νίπτει*, 'The one hand washes the other hand', and then, to be certain that the metaphor is understood, he continues, *ὅς τε καὶ λάβοις τι . . .* Menander⁴ uses a similar expression: *χεὶρ χεῖρα νίπτει, δάκτυλοι τε δακτύλους*, 'hand washes hand and fingers fingers'. Mr. Waddell⁵ paraphrases this proverb by 'one good turn deserves another'^{6a}.

In Latin we find an analogous adage which seems to indicate a borrowing from the Greek instead of originality on the part of the Romans. It is used by Seneca⁶: *Manus manum lavat*. He had said, *si quid volueris, in vicem faciam*. The former is paraphrased by Dr. Rouse⁷ by "you roll my log, and I'll roll yours: one hand washes another"^{7a}. Petronius⁸ uses the same aphorism. The Germans have a proverb which is an exact reproduction of this: "Eine Hand wäscht die andere". In Petronius 44 one finds another parallel: *Serva me, servabo te*, which Mr. Heseltine⁹ interprets by "scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours". *Ama me, amabo te* is found inscribed on ancient Roman rings^{9a}.

The Pall Mall Gazette of January 12, 1885 gives a review of a speech delivered by Bismarck and concludes thus: "All his policy is based on the homely adage, 'Scratch my back and I'll scratch yours,' for that is the only exact English equivalent of the keynote of German policy, *Do, ut des*".

EMAUS, PENNSYLVANIA

DAVID B. KAUFMAN

REVIEW

Romance in the Latin Elegiac Poets. By Elizabeth Haight. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (1932). Pp. xii, 243. £2.50.

Professor Haight's Book, Romance in the Latin Elegiac Poets, was written, primarily (vii), "to interest the

³Axiochus 366 C.

⁴Gnomai Monostichoi 543 (Waddell, page 51; see note 5, below).

⁵W. G. Waddell, Selections From Menander, 51 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927).

^{6a}This is in no sense parallel. The expression "One good turn deserves another" is *prospective*; it is an appeal for a favor, a hint that for a favor already done (or to be done) a favor ought to be done in return. In other words the expression makes one think of a *voluntum*, in the proper sense of that word. Dr. Rouse's translation of Seneca, Apocolocyntosis 9, and Mr. Heseltine's rendering of Petronius 45 are both wrong. See note 9a, below. C. K. >

⁶Apocolocyntosis 9.

⁷See page 393 of the volume of The Loeb Classical Library which contains (a) a version—very poor—by Michael Heseltine, of Petronius, and (b) a rendering, by Dr. Rouse, of Seneca, Apocolocyntosis. The volume was published in 1913. C. K. >

^{7a}

^{8a}I utterly fail to see how Mr. Heseltine, or any one else, could render here by 'One good turn deserves another'. Look at the whole passage: "Munus tamen" inquit "tibi dedi", et ego tibi plaudo. Computa, et tibi plus do quam accepi. Manus manum lavat". This means, of course, 'I owe you absolutely nothing. In fact, you are in my debt. The hands are never in each other's debt: each hand washes the other'. We may put the matter in slang fashion by saying, 'So far as you and I are concerned, it's a fifty-fifty proposition, as it is always with the hands'. In point of fact, of course, the speaker goes beyond the implications of this slang expression when he so plainly asserts that the other really is in his debt. C. K. >

⁹See note 7, above.

^{9a}These two expressions do correspond to 'One good turn deserves another'. See note 5a, above. Here Mr. Heseltine's version is correct. The Latin runs thus: Et quomodo siccitas perseverat! . . . Iam annum esuritio fuit. Aediles male eveniat, qui cum pistoribus collundunt: 'Serva me, servabo te'. C. K. >

¹105.7. ²Judge 98.16.

fabulous General Reader in the Latin elegiac poets of the Augustan Age.... A second and quite original purpose is suggested by the first word of the title. Influenced by Rohde's theory (viii) "that the most important ancestors of the Greek prose novel were the lost Greek elegiac poets of the Alexandrian Age....", Miss Haight discusses the Latin elegiac poets as possible forerunners of the Latin romantic or erotic novel in prose, which, she says (231), never developed. The exposition of the Latin elegiac poets is a commendable piece of work; the discussion of Latin prose fiction is not convincing.

The contents of the volume are as follows:

Foreword (vii-x); <Table of> Contents (xi-xii); I, What is "Romance"? (1-7); II, Greek Elegiac Poetry Before Gallus (8-15); III, The Elegies of Catullus (16-25); IV, Gallus (26-51); V, Tibullus (52-80); VI, Sextus Propertius (81-124); VII, Publius Ovidius Naso (125-219); VIII, The Latin Novel and the End of Romance (220-231); Bibliography (233-237); Index (239-243).

The first chapter is (7) a "brief attempt at defining the word 'romance' and outlining the development of romantic fiction in Greek and Latin literature...." Since Professor Haight uses the terms *romance* and *romantic* freely with several significations throughout the book, it is unfortunate that the discussion in this chapter of the term *romance* is so vague and incomplete. Miss Haight did not distinguish clearly the term *romance* as designating a specific genre of Greek and Latin literature from its use in such expressions as "elegiac romance", "The Corinna romance" (145), "poetic romance" (60), and "his life in itself was a romance" (26). Also, in view of the senses in which the terms *romance* and *romantic* are used in this book, attention might well have been given to what the literary critics have said about romantic and classic, romanticism and classicism¹.

The second chapter begins with a discussion of the nature of elegy and the elegiac epigram. There follows a brief account of the Greek elegy; special attention is given to Mimnermus of Colophon and Callimachus of Cyrene. It is hardly correct to say (11) of a poem of Mimnermus, "...here are the recurrent phrases of his Epicureanism: 'golden Aphrodite,' 'the flower of youth,' 'hard old age,'...." The following chapter includes the Latin text, accompanied by poetic translations by Miss Haight, of the five epigrams written by Valerius Aedituus, Q. Lutatius Catullus, and Porcius Licinius, and ends with Kirby Flower Smith's English version of the *Copa*. The conclusion (23) of the brief discussion of Catullus's elegies is "that Catullus must be granted a great formative part...." in the development of the elegiac poetry of the Augustan Age. There is no account of Catullus's life; not even his dates are given.

Chapter IV is an interesting and adequate discussion of Gallus and Parthenius under the following headings: The Poet <i. e. Gallus> (26-32), Gallus' Poetry seen

by Poets (33-37), Parthenius and Gallus (37-51). The account of Gallus's life ("a fuller picture of Gallus, the poet, than has been sketched before...." [49]) includes a translation (29-30) of the Latin text of the trilingual inscription found at Philae which celebrated the triumphs of Gallus as Governor of Egypt. Miss Haight's discussion of Parthenius's Love Romances is a valuable part of her book. She emphasizes their importance for the literary historian, classifies their subjects or themes, and inquires in detail into the use made of these Romances by the Augustan poets. On page 42 she says, "...if we find the other poets using the stories found in Parthenius for epyllia or elegies, we may infer with some small probability (but no certainty!) that so Gallus used or might have used Parthenius' Love Romances...." Miss Haight assembles instances of indebtedness to Parthenius for the use of various motifs, e. g. the traitor girl, the faithless girl, the faithless lover, the athletic girl. In other words, the Augustan elegists used in part the same kind of source material as did the writers of the prose erotic romances.

In the next chapter a general account of the poet Tibullus dwells on his patron Messalla, on the environment, and especially on the ladies of the social environment. The subtitle of the rest of the chapter, Tibullus and the Poetic Novella (62-80), undoubtedly is due to Miss Haight's assumption that the Augustan elegists are of especial importance in the history of the erotic romance. She analyzes the love poems as parts of poetic romances. She finds (78)

...in Tibullus four literary or poetic love romances, *novelle*, written about four different types of character: first, the young courtesan <Delia> in her early career before her bloom has gone...; second, the experienced and accomplished courtesan <Nemesis>...; third, the boy favourite <Marathus>...; and fourth, the young girl of noble family, highly educated and inexperienced <Sulpicia>, who gives all to one love.

Included in this chapter are Miss Haight's English versions of the eleven elegies that record the romance of Sulpicia and Cerinthus. About Sextus Propertius Miss Haight writes with especial enthusiasm and interest; at the end of Chapter VI she becomes quite lyrical (123-124; compare 92, 106). The divisions of the chapter are entitled The Poet (81-93), Cynthia and her Book (93-101), The Lover as Poet (102-106), The Romantic Element in Propertius' Other Poems (107-115), Propertius on his Poetry (115-124). Professor Haight has analyzed Propertius's poems in considerable detail and has commented on them with critical understanding. She writes about the Hellenistic background and indicates his place in the history of elegiac romance.

The longest chapter of the book deals with Ovid under the following topics: The Poet (125-145), The Corinna Romance (145-157), Ovid As *Præceptor Amoris*, Professor of Love (157-175), The *Heroides*, Love Letters of Heroines (175-201), Stories in Elegiacs (202-216), The End of Elegiac Romance (216-219). It is (126) "avowedly a *cento* made up of lines from Ovid's poems and quotations from his most appreciative critics...." In the first section are found a summary of Tristia 4.10 ("the simple poignant narrative of Ovid's autobiography...." [129]), a list of his extant works, and

¹One might cite, for example, Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1919); J. A. E. Thomson, *Greeks and Barbarians*, Chapter VII, *Classical and Romantic* (London, George Allen and Unwin, New York, Macmillan, 1921); Prosser Hall Frye, *Romance and Tragedy*, Chapter II, *The Terms Classic and Romantic* (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1922); and Lancelotti Abercrombie, *Romanticism* (London, Martin Secker, 1926).

a lengthy digest of portions of the Introduction to S. G. Owen's edition of Ovid's *Tristium Liber Secundus*² ("apology for his romantic writings...." [127]). At the end of this section Miss Haight quotes (141-145) criticisms of Ovid by K. F. Smith, J. W. Mackail, Gilbert Murray, and E. K. Rand. The table of extant works (131) should not include the item "*Amores* (first publication) in five books...." Also, to say, of the *Fasti*, "only 6 books extant...." is misleading, for only six were ever published³. Miss Haight has analyzed and discussed in considerable detail the *Heroides*. In these poems she finds (201) "a daring dramatization of the emotional life of women in the Augustan age, thinly veiled by the gauze of mythology...." She believes (180) "that the whole series of twenty-one <Heroides> is too homogenous to have been written by two poets". In the final section Ovid is held responsible for the passing of the elegiac romance, for (218) "in much of his work Ovid stripped the glamour from the elegiac romance...." "...He picked up the themes that Gallus, Tibullus and Propertius had used and toyed with them, delicately or ironically, in their own way in his *Corinna* romance and in some of the *Amores*...." (217).

The last chapter begins with the statement that "The LOGICAL development of the prose novel in Latin literature would have been the romance...." (220); by "romance" Professor Haight means here the serious erotic romance. After stating (220-221) that "This type of story did develop in Greek literature beginning about the end of the Augustan Age....", she says (222-223), "the Latin love romance in prose should have developed.... For how naturally would the constituents of the Latin elegiac poetry have gone over into erotic prose novels!... But what developed in Latin literature was something different...." There follows a discussion of Petronius's *Satyricon* ("the realistic novel of low life...." [231]) and of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* ("the novel of spiritual adventure" [231]). Miss Haight suspects (231) that "the exile of Ovid and the banning of the *Ars Amatoria* and his other erotic works from the public libraries might... have been the death-knell to the love-romance of Roman life....". Her thesis assumes that the novel or romance, serious and comic, did not develop among either Greeks or Romans until about the end of the Augustan Age. Such an assumption is not in accordance with the beliefs of some recent authorities⁴. It has even been doubted⁵ that Petronius was the inventor of the "realistic romance", as Professor Frank Frost Abbott suggested in his essay on *The Origin of the Realistic Romance Among the Romans*⁶, to which Miss Haight refers. In fact Rohde's

theory regarding the development of the erotic romance would be difficult to maintain to-day. Is it necessary to assume that elegy is a direct ancestor of the erotic romance?⁷ Is it not just one of the many evidences of unusual interest in the erotic motif throughout the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman worlds? Although there are but few extant romances, it is probable that a large number of such popular works was produced in antiquity. Therefore one should be cautious in speculating about their existence or non-existence at any particular time.

It is regrettable that this book, which was intended for cultured readers, was not written with a more sensitive regard for a good English style. For example, the excessive use of short sentences is unpleasant and suggests careless writing. However, Miss Haight's book is always interesting, conveys to others her "pleasure in the romantic Latin elegists...." (ix), and contains many good translations by her from these poets. It is a valuable introduction to the subject and should find many 'general readers'.

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ADOLPH F. PAULI

AN ANCIENT DRED SCOTT CASE

Among the *Declamationes* ascribed to Quintilian there is one¹ which presents conditions that were repeated, in fact, in a famous incident of American history, the *Dred Scott* case. The full title of this *Declamatio* runs as follows:

Novitius Praetextatus. Qui voluntate domini in libertate fuerit liber sit. Mango novitium puerum per publicanos transiecit praetextatum. Dicitur ille liber.

This may be rendered as follows:

'A boy recently enslaved is covered with the *toga praetexta*. Let him be free who with the consent of his <one-time> master has been at liberty. A slave-dealer slipped a boy, recently made a slave, past the customs officials by robing him in the *toga praetexta*. The boy is held to be free'.

This is similar, as Mr. Duff² points out, to a specimen *controversia* cited by Suetonius, *De Rhetoribus* 1, *ad finem*³: *Venatici cum Brundusi gregem venalium e navi educerent, formoso et pretioso puero, quod portitores verebantur, bullam et praetextam togam imposuerunt; facile fallaciam celarunt. Romam venit, res cognita est, petitur puer, quod domini voluntate fuerit liber, in libertatem.* Suetonius makes no comment beyond saying that the Greeks used the term *synthesis* for what the Romans called a *controversia*. The author of the *Declamatio* mentioned above labors, in true rhetorical fashion, the point involved in the words *liber in libertate fuerit*. He shows sympathy with the slave similar to that shown to the slave by Northern defenders of *Dred Scott*. The *Dred Scott* case is admirably described by

²P. Ovidi Nasonis *Tristium Liber Secundus*, Edited... by S. G. Owen (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924).

³See S. G. Owen on *Tristia* 2.549, in the edition cited in note 2, above.

⁴See, for example, K. Kerényi, *Die Griechische-Orientalische Romanliteratur*... Chapter 10 (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1927); and R. M. Rattenbury, *Romance: Traces of Lost Greek Novels, in New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, Third Series*... Edited by J. W. Powell (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933).

⁵See B. E. Perry, *Petronius and the Comic Romance*, *Classical Philology* 20 (1925), 31-49.

⁶This was first published in *Classical Philology* 6 (1911), 257-270. Later it was reprinted in his book, *The Common People of Ancient Rome* (New York, Scribner, 1911).

¹See Ben E. Perry, *Chariton and his Romance from a Literary-Historical Point of View*, *The American Journal of Philology* 51 (1930), 93-134, and the article by Rattenbury cited in note 4, above.

²This is Number CCCXL in the edition by Constantin Ritter, pages 342-345 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884). The next two *Declamationes* show adaptations of essentially the same type of fraud.

³John Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age from Tiberius to Hadrian*, 34, note 1 (London, T. Fisher Unwin, New York, Scribner, 1927). <For a review, by Professor Jacob Hammer, of this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.44-46. C. K.>.

Professor Channing³. Accounts of the case may be found also in any standard work on American history.

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HORACE IN THESE DAYS—AND OTHERS

Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.57-60, gathered many quotations from Horace in modern literature, in a paper entitled *Horace in Present-Day Quotation*. Certain references to Horace that I encountered lately gave me the idea of noting quotations from Horace that might appear in casual reading from day to day over a short period. The following appeared in the course of one week, from material varying greatly in style and in subject, and not all recent in date. All, however, made effective use of Horace.

A short story in *The Saturday Evening Post* of November 17, 1934, on pages 12, 13, 72, 74, 76, 79, by John Russell, was entitled *The Barbarian Maid*. The title comes from Horace, *Carmina* 1.29.6. The heroine quotes freely, to the confusion of the proof-reader, from the *Epodes* 2.1-2, 2-5, and *Carmina* 1.29.5-6, 1.11.7-8, 1.37.1-2, and finds the hero retorting upon her with *Carmina* 3.6.25-26, 1.3.39-40, 2.16.1.

By way of contrast, in matter and in style, next happened to come Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915, *An Autobiography, With a Memorial Address Delivered November 17, 1915*, by Henry Cabot Lodge (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1916). Mr. Lodge closed his address with this sentence (ix):

The Horatian lines, so old, so familiar, so beautiful, come unsought to the memory because they can be said of Charles Francis Adams without reservation and in all the simplicity of truth:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida; neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Non fulminantis magna Iovis manus.
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

From the biography of Charles Francis Adams, by his son Charles Francis Adams, in the *American Statesmen series* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1900), came another reference and quotation. When Charles Francis Adams was elected to the Massachusetts General Court, John Quincy Adams wrote to his son from Washington urging him to face with courage the troubles and the perplexities of political life. In closing, he said (44), quoting Horace, *Carmina* 2.3.1-2: "Fortify your mind against disappointments—aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem—keep up your courage and go ahead!"

On page 399 the author remarks: "When he <Charles Francis Adams> landed in New York November 13, 1872, he had a right to exclaim, as he did, 'Io Triumphe' <Epodes 9.21>".

One of R. Austin Freeman's Dr. Thorndyke stories,

³See Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, *The War for Southern Independence*, in the *Bibliography*, page 202. For other references to the case see Leon Whipple, *The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States*, 175, 343, note 11 (New York, The Vanguard Press, 1927).

The Puzzle Lock, in *The Doctor Thorndyke Omnibus* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1933), describes the combination of a lock as hidden in a bit of doggerel that was based on the first verse and a half of Horace, *Carmina* 2.14, the familiar

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni.

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NEPTUNE AND MASSINGHAM (AENEID 1.148-153)

Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.148-153 runs as follows:

Ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
iamque faces et saxa volant (furor arma ministrat),
tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant
(ille redit dictis animos et pectora mulcet)....

Henry W. Nevinson, in his *More Changes, More Chances* (New York, Harcourt, 1925), makes effective use (216) of this passage in his account of the "*Nation lunches*" of the vigorous and combative staff over which Massingham, the famous editor of the <English> *Nation*, presided:

... when a word from the editor allayed the tempest and averted the loss of glass and viands. As when, in some swarming crowd, political passion rises to tempest and the indistinguishable mob is possessed by rage; torches and stones begin to fly; fury supplies missiles to hand; then if all at once they behold some respected figure, strong in tradition and honoured for long service, they are hushed and stand to listen, while with quiet words he subdues their turmoil and soothes the raging breasts.

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AEOLUS AS A CONSTITUTIONAL KING (VERGIL, AENEID 1.54-63)

A letter from Sir Robert Peel to the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, dated from Whitehall, July 5, 1837¹, makes interesting use of quotations from Vergil, in discussing the influence of the personal character of a constitutional king, with reference, of course, to the King of England and his Government. The latter half of the letter (317) reads:

The personal character of a really constitutional King, of mature age, of experience in public affairs, and knowledge of men, manners, and customs is, practically, so much ballast keeping the vessel of the State steady in her course, counteracting the levity of popular Ministers, of orators forced by oratory into public councils, the blasts of Democratic passions, the ground swell of discontent, and "the ignorant impatience for the relaxation of taxation".

"Luctantes ventos, tempestatesque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis et carcere frenat"².

This is the proper function of a King—a function important in other times, when there were other weights incumbent upon popular violence, when its disturbing influence was hid in deeper recesses, and less capable of excitement into sudden explosion. The genius of the Constitution had contrived this in time gone by.

¹The Croker Papers, 2.316-317 (London, John Murray, 1884).

²Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.53-54.

"Speluncis abdidit atris
Hoc metuens, molemque et montes insuper altos,
Imposuit, *Regemque* dedit, qui foedere certo
Et premere, et laxas sciret dare jussus habenas"².

If at other times this paternal authority were requisite, the authority to be exercised *foedere certo*, by the nice tact of an experienced hand, how much more necessary when every institution is reeling, when

"Excutimur cursu, et caecis erramus in undis"³.

But at this crisis of our fate we are deprived of this aid.

Where is the jury-mast?—the good sense of the constituent body; of all that portion of it that has intelligence, property, love for the Constitution, settled feelings of loyalty towards the Monarchy. Real attachment to the youthful representative of it must supply it.

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ROMANS AND AMERICANS ON GOVERNMENT

The records of the Federal Convention show that the framers of the Constitution of the United States appealed, in their debates, frequently to instances from ancient or modern history. The influence of Rome upon the Constitution, in this way, has been discussed recently in an article entitled *The Influence of Rome on the American Constitution*, by R. A. Ames and H. C. Montgomery, in *The Classical Journal* 30.19-27 (October, 1934). That Americans of a century and a half ago often resembled Romans outwardly—except for costume!—is shown by portraits of the period in which we see faces that might well be Roman. So those Americans who appealed to ancient history in their deliberations often thought and expressed themselves *more Romano*. Naturally enough, then, the framers of the Constitution sometimes furnish us with interesting parallels that we may use in illustration of familiar passages of the Classics that are commonly studied in our classes, as in the three following cases.

Cicero writes, in *De Amicitia* 41:

Videtis in tabella <^c in connection with the ballot > iam ante quanta sit facta labe, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discunt quem ad modum haec fiant quam quem ad modum his resistatur.

The horror of the democratic movement of his time that Laelius is made to express here is well paralleled in tone and in feeling if not in phrasing from the discussion in the Federal Convention on Thursday, May 31, 1787¹. When the manner of the election of the first branch of the National Legislature was under consideration (78), Mr. Sherman, who opposed the election by the people, argued that "... The people... should have as little to do as may be about the government. They want information, and are constantly liable to be misled".

Mr. Gerry, following Mr. Sherman, said in part: "The evils we experience flow from the excess of de-

mocracy. The people do not want virtue, but are the dupes of pretended patriots...."

The next speaker in this same discussion furnishes us with a good parallel to a familiar passage of the *De Officiis* (1.85):

Omnino qui rei publicae praefuturi sunt duo Platonis praecepta teneant, unum, ut utilitatem civium sic tueantur ut quaecumque agunt ad eam referant, obliti commodorum suorum, alterum, ut totum corpus rei-publicae curent, ne, cum partem aliquam tueantur, reliquas deserant....

Mr. Mason, urging election by the people, "... admitted that we had been too democratic, but was afraid we should incautiously run into the opposite extreme. We ought to attend to the rights of every class of the people. He had often wondered at the indifference of the superior classes of society to this dictate of humanity and policy...."

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

I

Alumni News Syracuse University—1933 <the exact date was not given in the reprint received>, Catullus, the Roman Burns (84-54 B. C.), Perley Oakland Place [with two photographic illustrations and one reproduction of a painting]; March-April, 1934, Horace, Roman Gentleman and Poet (65-8 B. C.), Perley Oakland Place [with two photographic illustrations].

The American Historical Review—January, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by William Kelly Prentice, of Cecil Fairfield Lavell, *A Biography of the Greek People*; Review, favorable, by Mason Hammond, of Emanuele Ciaceri, *Tiberio, Successore di Augusto*; Short notice, mildly favorable, by Harold N. Fowler, of Robert J. Bonner, *Aspects of Athenian Democracy*; Short notice, generally favorable, by W. A. Oldfather, of John Garrett Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures—January, *The Oriental Institute Archaeological Report on the Near East*, Prepared with the Cooperation of Professor James H. Breasted [this fourth report contains two new features: a two-page map and a list of abbreviations].

The American Review—February, Review, favorable, by Wallace Brockway, of Helen Waddell, *Beasts and Saints*.

Anglican Theological Review—January, Review, very favorable, by Allen D. Albert, Jr., of Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Story of the Old Testament*.

Bibliotheca Sacra—January-February-March, *Socratic Anticipations of Christianity*, Frederick T. Tapscott; *Eisler on the Josephus Passage*, H. W. Magoun ["Of all the attempts that have been made to discredit the testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus, that of Robert Eisler, Ph.D., is, perhaps, the boldest, the most erudite, the most elaborate, and the most plausible...."] This article is a discussion

¹Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.60-63.

²Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.200.

³I quote from *The Journal of the Federal Convention* kept by James Madison, Edited by Erastus Howard Scott (Chicago, Albert, Scott and Co., 1895).

- of Robert Eisler's book, *The Messiah Jesus*; Mr. Magoun gives a distinctly unfavorable opinion of the book].
- Burlington Magazine—March, Review, favorable, by E. Strong, of Richard Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*.
- Economic History—February, *New Light on Currency and Inflation in Hellenistic-Roman Times from Inscriptions and Papyri*, F. Heichelheim ["It is the aim of this article to make accessible to fellow-scholars who are not specialists in papyrology or epigraphy some of the more important evidence from papyri and inscriptions of the Hellenistic-Roman world <regarding currency and inflation> . . ."].
- E L H: A Journal of English Literary History*—April, Chapman's Revisions of His *Iliads*, Phyllis Bartlett ["The object of the present study is to throw light on Chapman's method of translation as revealed by the revisions which he made in his text of the *Iliads* . . ."].
- The English Historical Review—January, Review, favorable, by H. Stuart Jones, of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume IX; Short notice, by D. C. M., of Mabel Gude, *A History of Olynthus*; Short notice, favorable, by H. S. J., of A. Momigliano, *Claudius: The Emperor and His Achievement*.
- The English Journal — February, Broadcasting the Classics, Dorrance S. White [this is an account of a course dealing with Greek and Latin literature in translation which the author conducted at the University of Iowa for three years and then, in 1933-1934, broadcast by radio under the auspices of the Extension Division of that institution].
- The Expository Times—March, The Chester Beatty Papyri, D. R. Fotheringham [this is a note dealing with the "romantic interest" of these papyri].
- Golden Book Magazine — March, Candaules' Folly, Herodotus [illustrated with one drawing. The magazine has reproduced without acknowledgment, in modern English spelling, the translation of Herodotus I. 8-12 by Barnabe Rich that was published in 1584, and is now available in the Tudor Translations, Second Series, 1924].
- The Harvard Theological Review—January, Greek and Hebrew Words in Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, Alexander Souter; Some Observations on Ruler-Cult Especially in Rome, Martin Percival Charlesworth.
- The Illustrated London News—December 22, Discoveries at Tepe Gawra: Art Relics of Early Mesopotamia . . . Temple and Tombs; A Parallel With Cyprus Pottery, Charles Bache [sixteen photographic illustrations accompanied by a descriptive note. "Tepe Gawra is about fourteen miles north of Mosul, and is slightly under two miles east of Khorsabad, the site of Sargon's palace . . ."]; January 12, The Most Ancient Statue Ever Discovered in Italy: An Armed Warrior of About the Sixth Century B. C.; From the Province of Naples [one photographic illustration with a descriptive caption]; January 19, Cyprus in the Stone Age and After: The First Neolithic Burial Found in the Island; a Royal Tomb of the 4th Century B. C.; and a Hoard of Silver Coins; New Discoveries Ranging Over Many Periods, P. Dikaios [with fifteen photographic illustrations. "Now, under the light thrown by the Cyprus Museum discoveries, we may say that the period of the later Stone Age was occupied by a highly developed culture characterized by a painted and unpainted pottery which can be compared to that of the most productive periods of Cypriot ceramic art . . ."]; February 2, An Event in Biblical Discovery: Part of a "Fifth Gospel", Nearly 100 Years Older Than Any New Testament Manuscripts Hitherto Found; Fragments of Second-Century Greek Papyri from Egypt (now in the British Museum) Pronounced "The Earliest Bit of Christian Writing at Present Known" [one photographic illustration accompanied by a brief descriptive note]; February 16, Ancient Cyprus and Its Trade With Syria: New Discoveries at Vounous and Enkomi, The Port For Commerce With Ras Shamra, on the Syrian Coast Opposite; Rich Relics of Pottery and Metal-work, Claude F. A. Schaeffer [with twenty-seven photographic illustrations and one map. "To sum up, we arrive at the conclusion that the civilization of Cyprus, characterised by the use of the lustrous red ceramic of the Vounous type, should hardly be anterior to the middle of the Third Millennium, and that this ceramic was no doubt disappearing before the year 2000 B. C. . . . At Ras Shamra we found deposits of copper ore and slag, which analysis has shown to be ore originating from Cyprus and probably from Enkomi . . . With the introduction of iron as a metal for use towards the end of the Second Millennium, the decline of these two cities began, their economic rôle being at an end"]; March 2, Ancient Persian Art: Animal Sculpture in Gold and Electron [two colored illustrations, with a descriptive note by Arthur Upham Pope]; Greek Art From Prehistoric Times to the Eighteenth Century, Frank Davis [with seven photographic illustrations. This is a favorable review of Christian Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce, Des Temps Préhistoriques au Début du XVIII^e Siècle*].
- The International Journal of Ethics—April, Review, unfavorable, by Rupert C. Lodge, of Warner Fite, *The Platonic Legend*; Very brief review, favorable, by Rupert C. Lodge, of F. H. Anderson, *The Argument of Plato*; Short notice, favorable, by C. D. B., of A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion, from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*.
- Isis—February, Review, extremely unfavorable, by Aubrey Diller, of *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, Translated into English and Edited by Edward Luther Stevenson . . . with an Introduction by Joseph Fischer.

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